133 full of fish, hold water during the worst of the dry season.

137 In going up the Ogooué one meets, a little before the island of Talagouga, the first spurs of the north-south oriented African plateau, still low (N'Djolé has an altitude of 63 meters), the elevation of which increases rapidly as one goes towards the interior. Upstream from N'Djolé, the Ogooué ceases to be navigable. Broken by rapids, it is no longer passable except for specially equipped dugout canoes. About a dozen kilometers beyond the influx of the Okano, the aspect of the country changes: the large forest gives way to great stretches of prairie dotted with wooded groves, on the hillsides formations of quartz blocks are seen and oil palms, which were not present downstream, begin to appear. Mt. Otoumbi dominates the landscape from its 700 meters, and the rounded hillsides of the ranges bordering the river recall some features of the Vosges.

133 In the N'Djolé region, the Ogooué receives as its chief tributaries: to the right, the Bingola, Okano, and Abanga; to the left, shorter rivers of less volume, the Leledi, Lebe, and Mbumi. Only Abanga is navigable, and this for only about 70 kilometers.

132 The climate is hot and humid, with alternating dry and rainy seasons:
133 from October to January, the rainy season; from January to March, a very hot, dry season, the ripening time of almost all the forest fruits; from March to June, again violent rains, great tornadoes, and severe heat; and from June to October, a comparatively cool, dry season, with cessation of growth for some varieties of forest vegetation. At this time the waters are very low; sand banks can be seen everywhere in the Ogooué some of whose tributaries, like the Misanga, have only a trickle of water. The seasons are obviously not as strictly demarcated as this, and one season often encroaches on the other.

101 Today this whole region is almost entirely inhabited by the Fan who, since their arrival, probably at the beginning of the nineteenth century,
● 563 have either driven out or decimated the [other] inhabitants, the Okata and Bapinji [Bapindji] up the N'Djolé (of the Okata there is now only one village left, and the Bapinji have completely disappeared) and the Bakele [Bakale, Bakelle (?)] downstream. The latter still have some villages in the interior on the left bank, but only one on the edge of the river.

101 Fan is the name they give themselves. Pahouin [Pahuin] is the one by which they are commonly known and which, according to Haug (1)

1. Ernest Haug, "Notice géographique et ethnographique sur le Bas-Ogooué"

4:Dugast--13a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Tsinga-Betsinga

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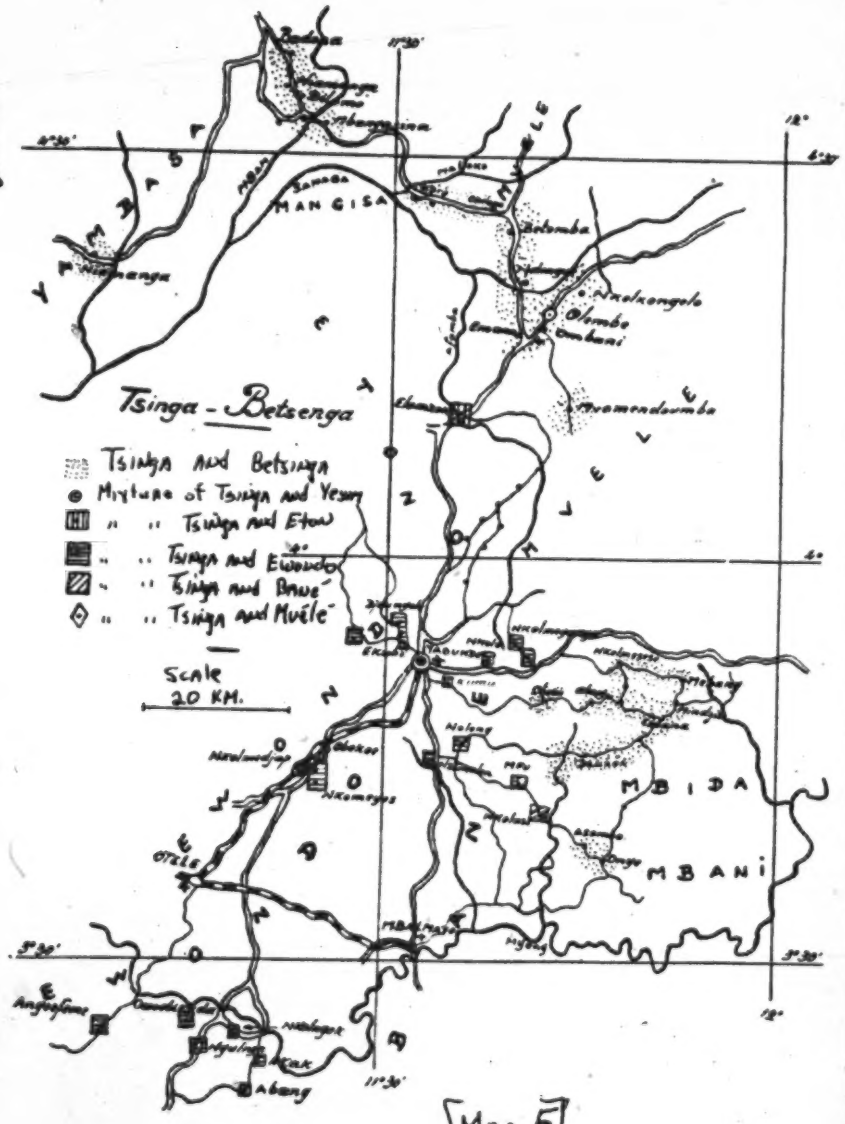

[MAP 5]

4:Dugast--14a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Mangisa

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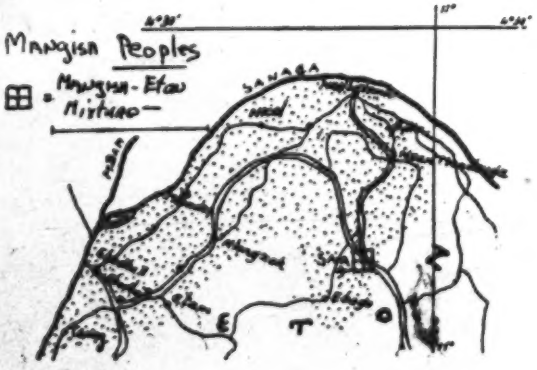
[MAP 6]



4:Dugast--16a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Eton

[MAP 7]

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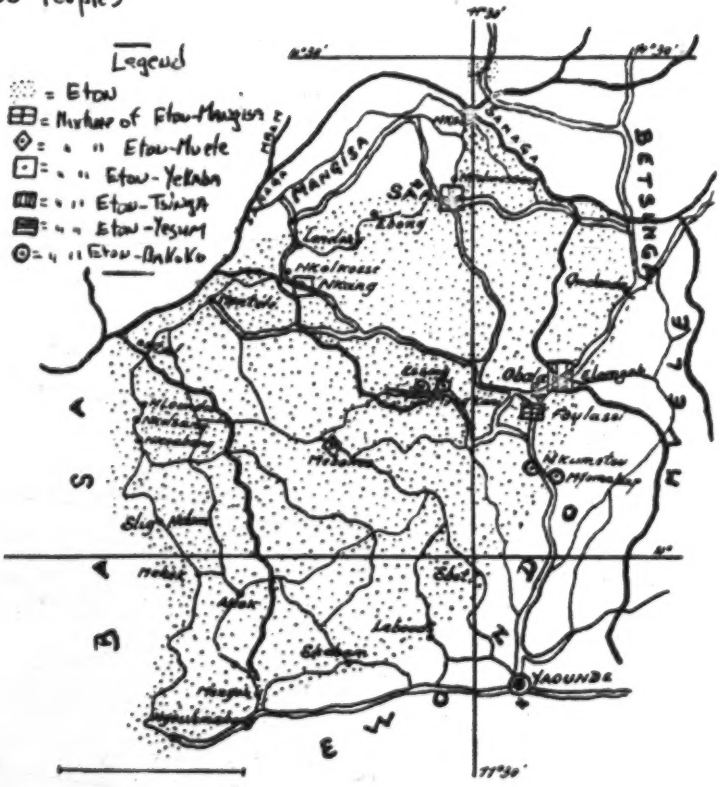
Etou Peoples



173 therefore forced to settle in the most westerly area. (See the unpublished report of Father Sohler.) Others say (according to the report of X. Béliard) that they are only brothers of the Ewondo, who crossed the Sanaga, entered the southern forest as far as the present-day region of Ebolowa, stayed there a few years, and, step by step, took the northwest route, crossing the Lokoundje River. Then they infiltrated among the Basa tribes and settled in their present habitat. What we know for certain is that not until 1910 did they occupy the three villages on the road between Kribi and Edéa, and that their migration was still in full swing when the German occupation forced them to settle in one spot.

184 ●563 The population in the vast territory occupied by the Ewondo is not culturally homogeneous. In many villages and even in the hamlets, the Ewondo live side by side with members of neighboring groups. On our map we have indicated the most important enclaves and mixed settlements /Map 8, facing p. 72/, namely those where the strangers are as numerous as the Ewondo or even more so. /72/ The actual situation is more complex than this, but on a map of this scale it has not been possible to show the minorities. (1)

[114]

1. A remarkable large-scale diagrammatic map of the administrative subdivision of Yaoundé should be mentioned here. It was set up in 1944 by the administrator J. Christol and shows even the smallest intermixtures, with proportional strengths, for every village and hamlet.

361 511 The Ewondo live in sizable villages which stretch along the many roads in the area. The villages are well maintained and show evidence of a comfortable standard of living which is largely the result of the prosperity of their cacao trees and their trade.

181 The Ewondo are robust and muscular, skillful and intelligent. They emigrate readily, and their workers are valued in all enterprises.

497 The shipment of their products is facilitated by a major branch of the railway which crosses their territory between Yaoundé and Otélé, and transportation on their roads plays an important role in getting the various foodstuffs and the cacao from the great markets in the bush to the railroad.

4:Dugast--22a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9 Ewondo

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Ewondo Peoples

Legend

- Ewondo Proper
- Mvele enclave
- Ewondo-Mvele mixture
- Bane enclave
- Ewondo-Bane Mixture
- Ewondo-Bulu mixture
- Etou enclave
- Etou-Ewondo Mixture
- Ewondo-Betsinga mixture
- Ewondo-Tsinga mixture
- Ngumba enclave

[MAP 8]

[MAP 9]

[Mb. MAP 6 = MAP 9]

20 KM

BAKOKO

EVURON

NGUMBA

NGUMBA

OTELE

ETON

A

B

C

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BAUE Peoples

Legend

= BAUE PROPER
EWONDO-BAUE mixture
TSINGA-BAUE mixture
TSINGA enclave
EWONDO enclave
MBIDA-MBANI-BAUE mixture
BAUE-MVELE mixture

Scale
20 KM

[MAP 10]

113 The oldest sketch map on which the Bane are shown is a map without scale, but where the distances are calculated in terms of "hours on foot"; it appears in Von Stein's report entitled "Ueber die geographische Verhältnisse des Bezirkes Lolodorf (Sudkamerun Gebiet), speziell die dort wohnenden Volkstämme /The Geographic Relationships of the Lolodorf District (South Cameroons), especially the Resident Tribes/, " in Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutgebeiten, 1899, pp. 120-41. This report also contains an extensive geneological table which includes the Bane; ethnographic details on pp. 135-38 should be especially noted.

Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Bane. "

Moisel maps, G2, Jaunde, and H 1-2, Kribi.

Bearth. "Le Nsig N'to, ancienne coutume Bane /The Nsig N'to, an Ancient Bane Custom/, " Togo-Cameroun, January 1930, pp. 19-22.

Important unpublished documents exist on the subject of customs, shelter, and subsistence among the Bane.

THE FONG

131 Location: 11° and 11°15 long.
3°15 north lat.
and 11°30 to 12° long.

101 Physical and Human Geography. The Fong /Fang/ are not all settled in a single area. They constitute a very small population divided into three separate clusters, lined up from west to east; the total area of the different small zones occupied by these settlements is about 1, 152 square kilometers, and in the largest and most easterly, the enclaves of Bulu villages are to be found.

101 ● 563 Bertaut has written: "The territory is occupied by Bane and Fong without any geographical unity. Fong, Bulu, and Bane are intermingled, and one passes from a Bane area /76/ to a Fong area without noticing. This situation is the result of a mingling of tribes which must have occurred when the Bane and the Fong, who came from the north, encountered the Fang and the Bulu, who were also not yet permanently settled. " (Report of May, 1932)

113 The Fong may be considered the southernmost participants in the recent invasion which brought the Ewondo and the Bane to the south

101 Mvae Branch: 9°45 to 10°45 and 11°20 to 11°40 long.
131 2°15 (at the frontier of the South Cameroons) to 2°55 north lat. and a few islands at 3° north lat.

Ntumu branch: 10°25 to 11°35 long.
2°15 (on the frontier of the South Cameroons) to 2°35 north lat. /77/

Physical and Human Geography

131 Total area: about 11, 500 square km.

161 Population and density of each group:
Fang: 12, 583 inhabitants; 2 persons per square km.
Mvae: 5, 287 inhabitants; 5.8 persons per square km.
Ntumu: 16, 236 inhabitants; 9.8 persons per square km.

137 The whole territory of the Fang is within the great equatorial forest, in the basin of the N'Tem and those of its tributaries that flow to the right of it. /Map 12/

361 The Fang villages which are to be found furthest west in the direction
●563 of the ocean are situated near Bipindi and on the road from Bipindi to Kribi. Some of them alternate with Bulu villages, others are composed of mixed populations consisting, for example, of Fang and Bulu, Fang and Ngumba, or Mvae and Ntumu /Ntum?/. Nor are the villages and trails south of Ebolowa in the great forest inhabited by homogeneous populations. Enclaves from one group are settled with another, and intermingle with each other. The transition from the somewhat educated Bulu to the primitive inhabitants of the great forest occurs imperceptibly. Because of the inhospitable territory which they occupy, the Fang are dispersed in the enormous forest all the way to the ocean and are to be found here and there among the Mvae. They
563 lead the unstable existence of lumbermen in order to force from the land the bare means of subsistence.

The settlements of the Mvae are scattered. Some are located on the periphery of Ambam to the east and north, others are south-southeast of Ebolowa, and still others are to be found on the lower part of the N'Tem, from a point east of Nyabessan as far as the ocean.

4: Dugast--28a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9 Fang

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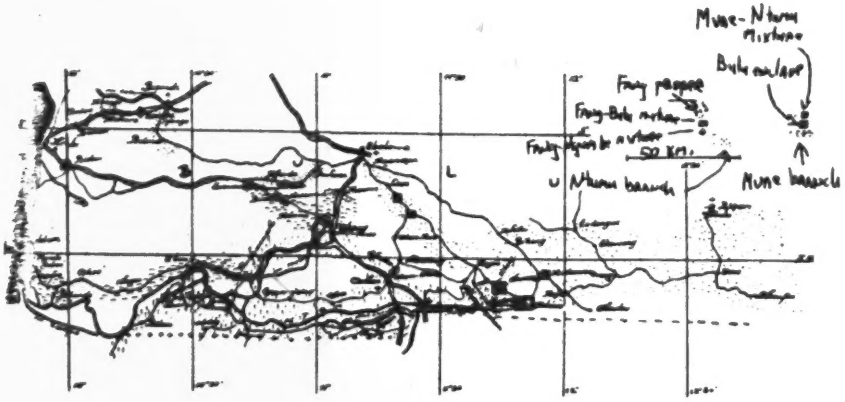
Fang Peoples



[Map 12]

Bulu Peoples

[Map 13]

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4:Dugast--34a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Bulu

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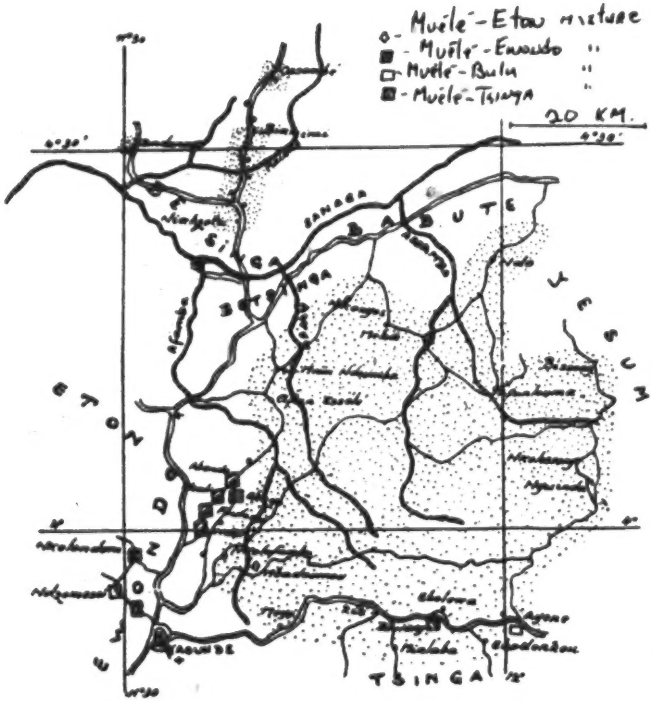
Mvélé Peoples



[Map 14]

4:Dugast--44a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Bamvele
Bobili

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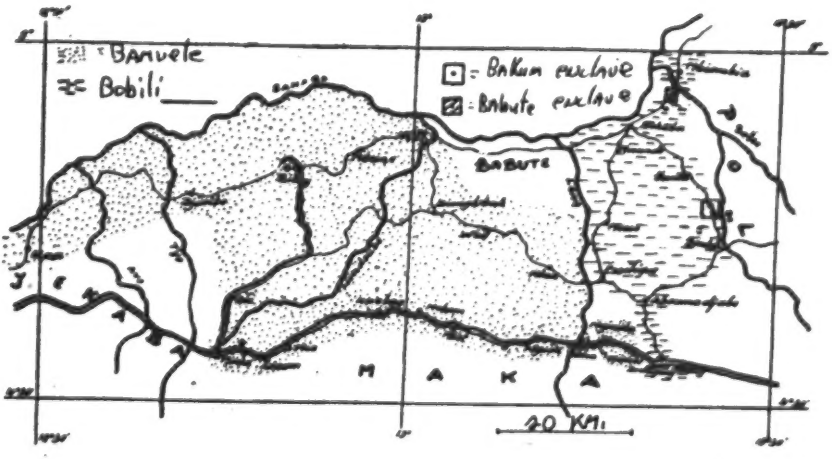
[MAP 17]



4: Dugast--49a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Omvang

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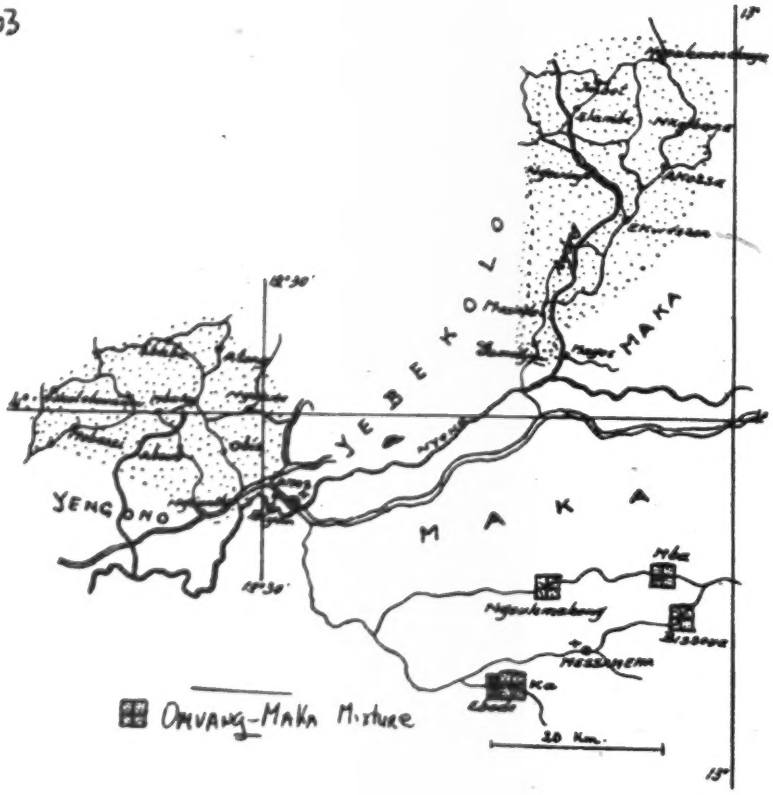
Omvang Peoples.



[Map 19]

4: Dugast--51a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Mbida-Mbane
Mvogo-Nienge

101 Mbidambani and
131 Mvog-Nienge Peoples
●563

[Map 20]

511 N'Gounié and Woleu-N'Tem was a "reservoir of manpower") by
702 upsetting its demographic equilibrium. Consequently, most of the administrative reports stress the poverty and mediocrity of the villages, the political instability and "indiscipline," and the eagerness with which all innovations are greeted in the hope of improving conditions. [84]

Region of the Maritime Ogooué

175 During the second half of the nineteenth century the Fang descended the Ogooué in order to reach the trading centers established on the river, and the counting houses of the coast. They pushed back the Bakèlè, imposed themselves on the Galwa and the
361 Nkomi. Since 1880 the Fang have settled in large numbers along the Ogooué as a result of a penetration which organized convoys on the river, created posts, and made possible the settlement of traders.

361 The Fang are settled in the four districts forming this adminis-
162 trative region, but in that of Ombooué, the extreme point of their advance, they represent less than 5 percent of the population. Ninety-five percent of the 9,300 inhabitants of N'Djolé District are Fang who have taken the place of the ancient Bakélé people. They belong to the Maké, Nzaman, and Bétsi groups; the first of these was located downstream from N'Djolé before 1865 (1).

1. Captain Curault, op. cit.

They came largely from the Lower Ivindo, but also from the Woleu-N'Tem, where the villagers soon sought to obtain commercial out-
[316] lets on the Ogooué. Outside of a small mine exploitation at N'Djolé, this district is extremely bare. Consequently, the very scattered villages have a miserable appearance, and the male
[464] population has been canvassed (or recruited) by the neighboring lumber works and by the coastal centers.

563 Lambaréné District, which is very important because of its
[361] forest exploitations (and also because it is an old commercial
313] center, still has a largely Fang population. These are in opposition to the aboriginal group of the Galwa (less than 2,200 individuals)

563 who, being related to the coastal minorities, constitute the "aristocratic race" of the country, and, having become relatively hierarchical, has known how to "preserve its position." (2)

2. Rapport Ogooué-Maritime [Maritime Ogooué Report], 3e trimestre [Third Quarter], 1935.

162 Though the Fang "have settled in a haphazard manner and a little everywhere," they have nevertheless formed two important centers of population, on the Ogooué above Lambaréné and in the area around the southern lakes. (3) They represent more than 35 percent

3 Rapport. Ogooué-Maritime [Maritime Ogooué Report], 4e trimestre [Fourth Quarter], 1935.

of the population (17,500 inhabitants) in this district of multiple ethnic groups, which in 1936 had one fifth of its inhabitants settled at the lumber works. The Fang villages here consist of 35 clans or 621 615 619 fragments, about half of the population forming a homogeneous clan, while the other [85] half is composite. Apart from the Yémvög, most of the existing tribes are not found (or are unimportant) in the Woleu-N'Tem [region]. The most numerous elements seem to originate from the Ivindo. Although they reached the region forming the present-day district of Port-Gentil at the end of their push, the Fang have not succeeded in evicting the dominant ethnic groups, the Ouroungou and the Nkomi.

Region of the Estuary

162 We have already stated that the date of the arrival of the Fang at the Estuary can be set at 1850. At that time they replaced the residual coastal groupings, particularly the Bakélé who, after abandoning the Ogooué, had to leave the Como. Since 1900 the population of this region has been "nearly entirely composed of

101 a word with a consonant. One would thus have *Mpa'ngwen, from which Europeans have made mpawen, then Pahouin.

About the term "Fang" itself it should be remarked that the regular form m-fañ (Class I or personal, m/be) is in actual fact hardly ever used by the Pahouin themselves, who prefer their usual ethnical constructions, that is, the radical preceded by mon (son, descendant). Thus one says mone fañ, bo' be fañ, like mon éwôndô, mone bulu (1), etc. The meaning of the word is obscure. It does not mean "man" (vir), which is fam, a mistake rightly /5/ noticed by Father Trilles, who nevertheless connects it with a root FA connoting the idea of virility, of violence (fa = machete, fañe = to do on purpose, intentionally, etc).

[104] 1. I usually employ current Boulou orthography, except for words that have an official spelling in general use, like,the names of places (Ebolowa, Ambam, not ébolewo'o, mbam) and certain Gallicized names of tribes (the Boulou, the Ntoumou, but Bulu /adjectival use/ Ntum /adjectival use/; the Fang, but the Fañ group). /The last phrase is meaningless for English, because there is no English equivalent for the distinction between capitalized French nouns of "nationality" and the corresponding noncapitalized substantive adjectives. Hence, in the English translation this distinction will be ignored, the official spelling being used for tribal names whether used as noun or adjective. —Ed./

It should be observed, by the way, that bulu and éwôndo are plurals of which the singular (*mulu, *ôwôndo) is not used.

2. Various Groups and Territorial Distribution

174 523 It is not easy to define the exact boundaries of the Pahouin group. The lists given by different authors include up to ten tribes, one way or another—thousands of individuals. At the end of the nineteenth century, penetration in extended order* prevented ascertaining

/• Ordre disperse (Military conception) = extended order. —Ed./

definite relationships. Later, on the other hand, the Pahouinization of neighboring tribes, subjugated or merely influenced, brought about assimilations that were often misleading.

Broadly speaking, we may say that a large body of invaders, rather recently come from the northeast—the Pahouin properly so called—assimilated through contacts on the one hand, some of the inhabitants of the invaded area, on the other hand, likewise assimilated other invaders who followed in their wake. What is certain is that this assimilation or Pahouinization of foreign tribes is going on at the present day, partly due to the mere fact of colonization.

We shall distinguish in this study between the invaders—Fang, Boulou, Beti—on the one hand, and, on the other, the neighboring populations that have been or are being Pahouinized.

A. The Invaders or True Pahouin

Theories as to their boundaries are too many and contradictory for all me to expatiate on here.

In Father Trilles' view they are divided into two branches: b-Osyéba /Osieba/ in the east, Fang in the west. The Mekuk are connected with the first, the Méké, Betsi, "Mvègne" (Mvaé?), and "Boulé" (Boulou) with the second. Largeau like Schnee bases his division between Bedzi (betschi) and Mekei (makei) on linguistic considerations; the first, in the west, tend to begin their remarks with the formula ma zɔ̂ na, the second, in the east, with me ki na. Here there appears to be a partial confusion between the Pahouin properly speaking, and the Pahouinized Maka (Mekaé) (1). Madame Dugast

1. There are indeed two Fang dialects, corresponding to the zɔ̂/ki (or jɔ̂/ki) criterion, but the people who speak them all call themselves Fang. Besides, there is a Maka or Mekaé tribe whose language is close to eastern Fang, which it has perhaps influenced.

101 grouping between the Bantu of the central Cameroons and the Pahouin.

However that may be, certain tribes cannot be studied except in connection with the true Pahouin:

the Ewôndo of the Nyong-and-Sanaga region
the Bané of Nyong-and-Sanaga, N'Tem, and Dja-and-Lobo
the Fong of the Dja-and-Lobo and N'Tem (the last, moreover, influenced by the Boulou)
the Mbida-Mbané and Mvog-Nyenge, east of Yaoundé, who are probably descendants of prisoners-of-war of the preceding

The Eton of Saa and Obala may also be associated, but already with more difficulty, with the Ewôndo, for instance. On the other hand, the other Beti tribes ought rather to be classed with the Pahouinized peoples discussed below.

B. Assimilated or Pahouinized Tribes

101 194 563 Among these we must distinguish those who were in the country at the arrival of the Pahouin from those that followed.

1977 a) Tribes that followed the Pahouin invasion. These are fundamentally, as pointed out above, the Beti. According to Nekes, some of the tribes already mentioned still spoke an ati dialect at the time of the German conquest. At the present time one can point out as in the process of "Pahouinization" (Ewôndo dialect):

The Mangisa, Yekaba, Bamvele, Evuzok, Batchanga /Betchenga/ (Tsinga), /7/ Omvang, and Yetudi of the Sanaga. On the other hand, the Beti of the right bank (Bati, Kombe, Bundju, etc.), also few in number, are more drawn toward the Baboute /Wute/, Bafia /Fia/, etc.

b) Aboriginal tribes or tribes established before the Pahouin invasion. There is reason to treat separately the Pygmy groups (Bibaya, Babinga, Beye'ele) and mixed populations (Bekoé) who live symbiotically with the Pahouin without by this fact being really absorbed.

The Pahouin invasion seems to have come on a country occupied by two Bantu groups come from the east several centuries before, which it drove back either toward the sea or toward the present eastern boundary of the Cameroons.

The first of these would have been the Maka and Ngoumba /Ngumba/ group, which was cut in half by the invasion, Maka on the

101 714 563

east, Ngoumba and Mabéa /Bea/ on the west. The Maka (more correctly Mekaé) have been to a large extent absorbed by the invaders, to the point of being confused with them by several authors.

The second group would have been the Kozimé-Njem (or Jem) /Dzem/, Dzimou /Nzimu/, Bajoué /Badjue/ of nearby origin and likewise absorbed to the point of being confused with the true Pahouin group.

3. Neighboring Populations

As I have already pointed out in connection with the Pahouinized peoples, the Pahouin are literally submerged in a Bantu mass.

Their neighbors to the north, on the right bank of the Sanaga, are those whom Madame Dugast calls the Bantu of the central Cameroons. This represents an extremely heterogeneous group, including tribes that claim to be aboriginal along with others that say they are immigrants, with a linguistic, anthropological, and cultural network that effectively prevents any exact classification. The two main tribes contiguous with the Beti-Pahouin are the Bafia and Yambasa /Yambassa/.

Immediately to the east of the above tribes, still in the Sanaga Valley, are the Wutéré (sing. Wuté) /Wute/ known to the colonial administration by their Bantu name of "Baboute /Bafute/." They are Sudanese, and it seems likely that it was on account of direct pressure from them that the Pahouin crossed the Sanaga.

To the west of the Yambasa-Bafia, the Sanaga Valley is occupied by the Basa-Bakoko group on both banks. These tribes are difficult to classify. They must certainly be Bantu. Some writers group them under the name Baso; others connect the Basa /Bassa/ with the central Cameroons, Bantu and the Bakoko with the Beti, even with the Pahouin, to whom they in fact show some cultural resemblances.

Along the coast there are Bantu groups: on the coastal range the Ngumba and Mabéa related to the Mekaé mentioned above; on the coastal plain the Duala group, with the Duala (Dawala /Diwala/), properly speaking, the Batenga, and the Kumbé. The Balengi /Lengi (Balenge) ?/ in Spanish Guinea are probably related either to the Mabéa or to the /8/ Duala. In Gabon the Pongoué (Mpongwé) are a residual Bantu-Myéné group, entirely isolated in the midst of the Fang.

To the east of the Cameroons Pahouin, on the left bank of the Dja, the Mekaé, Badjué, Dzimu /Nzimu/, and Jem are, I repeat,

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Pahouinized to the point of finding themselves mixed with the Pahouin of the Middle Congo. This mingling is still going on at the present time among the other tribes of the Kozimé group and specifically among the Konabembé /Konambembe/, Esel (1), and Medzimé

[197]

1. The Esel require two comments: first, they appear to speak a language very close to Duala; second, they have the same name as one of the principal Pahouin clans.

/Ndsime (Medjimi, Mendsime)?/. All these tribes, coming from the northeast (Mekaé) or southeast (Kozimé), and Bantu-speakers, formerly had a much more extensive habitat to the west and north, whence they were driven back toward the south by the Baya and Kaka, and toward the east by the Pahouin.

The Bakwelé /Kwele/ of the Middle Congo apparently may also be connected with the Kozimé and, like them, may be considered Pahouinized. They were pushed back onto the left bank of the Ivindo at a comparatively recent date, like their neighbors to the south, the Bakota /Kota/ and the Okandé /Kanda/. The Séké and Akélé /Kalai (Akalle)?/ of the lower Ogooué are probably related to them.

Finally, the Pongwé /Mpongwe/—already mentioned—the Ouroungou /Rungu (rungu)/, Bapounou /Puno (Bapuno)?/, Galoa, and Nkomi of the lower Ogooué probably belong to an intermediary group between the Bantu of the northwest (Duala and coastal group) and the Vili-Kongo in the south (Baumann), the Myéné group. These tribes not long ago occupied most of the territory of the true Fang, whence they have been forced back for a century by the Pahouin invasion, which did not reach the sea until 1890-1900. The Benga (coastal Bantu) and Pongwé of Libreville, isolated in the midst of the Fang, the Ouroungou, Séké, Asembé, Galoa, and Bapounou of Port Gentil and Lambaréné are the last non-Pahouin peoples in existence on the right bank of the Ogooué. The Fang have, it must be added, a solid bridgehead on the left bank in N'Djolé District.

We must remember that throughout Pahouin country there are groups of Pygmies, whose status will be discussed further on.

as against the fruits of the earth) and flees to the west, land of the dead or the ancestors, where the frustrated elder son pursues him (1).

1. This association of the west with material goods, of the east with the produce of the land, is found again in the potlatch (bilaba), described further on.

Largeau and Grebert make of the usurping younger son the ancestor of the Whites, but Trilles has collected versions which he considers older, in which the younger son is the ancestor of the Bantu of the coast; these versions, moreover, exist side by side with Largeau's. It is possible that the association of the younger son with the Whites dates from the first trade contacts. /18/

Chapter 3

The Language

1. Distribution

The group as a whole is characterized by an unquestionable linguistic unity, which spreads across cultural and anthropological boundaries. I have earlier indicated the existence of Pahouinized tribes or tribes becoming Pahouinized, especially the Maka and the Kozimé. To these must be added the Pygmies living symbiotically with the Pahouin, and whose language they appear to have adopted to a very great extent, to a point where it is difficult to know for certain if they still possess a language of their own.

Moreover, Pahouin dialects tend to be used as a trade language in areas where, on the one hand, the Pahouin are but a minority, often as emigrants, or, on the other, in regions less advanced economically and socially than is their own habitat.

There are therefore:

a) A true Pahouin linguistic area: this is Pahouin country as described in the first chapter. There Pahouin is spoken as a mother tongue by the Pahouin themselves and in all probability by the Pygmies.

614 are, besides, meyoñ that are outside the system.

614 Among the latter I shall mention the Ndôñ and the Bekôé or Bekwi,
● 563 to be found under these names in all, or nearly all, the Pahouin tribes.
184 The ethnic substantive Bekôé is simply the plural of a common noun, nkôé, "dwarf." These people are, it seems, descendants of aborigines, undoubtedly Pygmies, "adopted" by the tribes at the time of invasion. Although looked upon as an ayoñ and calling one another brother, they do not practice exogamy and seem to attach their genealogies to those of other clans, to which nevertheless they do not belong.

614 The case of the Ndôñ is quite different. They crossed the Sanaga
184 with the other Pahouin, and they are certainly "active" Pahouin. But they observe endogamy among their three mvôk (Ndôñ Mvu, Ndôñ Bibak, and Ndôñ Bikoé), which no other Pahouin ayoñ does, at least to my knowledge. Besides, I believe I noticed /48/ among those of the southern Cameroons and northern Gabon morphological traits
[142] setting them sharply apart from those of neighboring clans—reddish
[144] color of the skin, frequency of green or greenish-blue eyes—which might be explained by the inbreeding consequent upon endogamy, but also perhaps by a different ethnic origin. Another piece of evi-
[326 dence, as insufficiently attested as the foregoing, is that among the
791] Ndôñ I met the last of the smiths and the most feared magicians among the Boulou and Fang tribes of the Cameroons.

The Ngoé ayoñ also is found under this name in nearly all the Pahouin tribes and, according to Bertaut, among the neighboring Bakoko. The Esel, who are similarly spread throughout the tribes, have non-Pahouin homonyms: /for instance/ the Bantu Esel tribe of the southeastern Cameroons (Moloundou). The name could, however, be a contraction of ésa (ésa-el?). Ngoé and Esel are usually exogamic.

c. The Extended Family or Village Family

596 The term "village family" is no doubt more accurate than the
621 classic "extended family," both because the nda bôt (house of the people) is the only social group that corresponds exactly to a geographical form of settlement (the jal or hamlet), and because without the geographical criterion it is difficult to distinguish this /kind of/ family from the intermediate structures between it and the clan, such as segments or lineages (mvôk, bisa). And finally, it is on this

567 spoke of ôlo (or mon ôlo) or étu'a as against nti (nté) or mo'nti, the latter word meaning freeman, civis. However, all the late nineteenth century writers agree that the Pahouin did not know of slavery and, closer to our period, L. Mba repeats the assertion, declaring that belô [727] or minsagha were not slaves but prisoners of war "considered part of the spoils" (no. 120).

Nevertheless, it does indeed seem that there were genuine com- 567 mercial transactions, selling and buying of these captives or, at any 727 rate, of the bitu'a, whose position must have been different from that of the bo' belo. The latter were more likely prisoners subject to ransom (ngôtô = ransom) or hostages; I have personally known elderly Boulou men of good family who were prisoners of the Bané in the way after the 1885 ôban /war/. They had been treated as men not as chattel, taking part in noble masculine activities such as hunting, but not in work considered menial like porterage. Some of them married Bané girls at the time of the treaty which followed the ôban; others were adopted by Bané clans. In their case one certainly could not speak of slavery.

567 The position was not the same for the bitu'a (1), who were, as I

[304]

1. Sometimes called bityi'ityi'a, the mutilated, the gashed, because their ears were slashed.

made the objects of commercial transactions, of sales, and not simply put in pawn. First lieutenant Dominick, for instance, bought outright from Ewôndo chiefs part of his complement of porters. These bitu'a were not Pahouin but foreign prisoners from neighboring tribes or the original inhabitants of conquered territory. Therefore it is perhaps correct to say that the Pahouin had no slaves among themselves of their own, but not that they were unacquainted with slavery. They certainly made little use of it, preferring to exchange captives for merchandise from the coastal or river tribes who specialized in trade. Besides, the children of belô or of bitu'a born within a clan must have been pretty easily absorbed if one of the parents belonged to the clan.

563 At the present time, in any case, the distinction between bo' beti 565 and bo' belo is very fine drawn (2), not to say obliterated, if only

6:Alexandre and Binet--75 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9
Cameroon Pygmies FH4
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2. This division of the population into three categories, noble tribes (Beti), vassal but free tribes, and servile groups, is still evident in certain border regions: / the ethnic map in manuscript prepared by the government officer Botti (in accordance with the 1954 genealogical census, of the Okola subdivision (Nyong and Sanaga, the Cameroons) distinguishes between the Eton Beti (lords), the Eton Beloa (vassals), and the Beloa Beton (enslaved). (J. B.)

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because /59/ people tend to forget genealogies. Nevertheless, there survives a condition that is not without a suggestion of serfdom, that of the Pygmies. They would appear to belong to three "tribes" — Babinga /Binga/ in the east, Bibaya in the center, Beye'ele or Bajieli /Jelli (Bayele, Badiele)/ in the west. They live in small family bands and are nomadic hunters within a limited area. These small hordes are said to "belong" to Pahouin families or individuals. The Pygmies hunt for their "owner," keep him supplied with meat, skins, ivory, medicinal plants and receive from him in return salt, spear-heads, sabers, cloth, and cultivated foodstuffs. They do not have the right—and this is the important point—to carry on such dealings with another "owner," and the "owner" may prosecute anyone infringing his monopoly. Even more, he has a feudal lord's right of pursuit /droit de suite/ should "his" Pygmies try to escape and to become nomadic inhabitants in the territory of another village. He may also cede his rights over "his" Pygmies to another Pahouin, but not the Pygmies themselves. Here again then there is no slavery in the Roman sense of the word. Moreover, it appears that the "owner's" rights over "his" Pygmies derive originally from a reciprocal contract, a sort of alliance between the two groups, the balance of which was later upset in favor of the invaders. Within recent years a trend may be observed toward the emancipation of the Pygmies. They are now very crossbred; they use the language of their masters and seem to have preserved of their own only the technical and ritual vocabulary, of which the little that is known appears to be related for the most part to the dialects of Bantu tribes driven back by the Pahouin invasion. Crossbred groups that have been sedentary for several generations, the

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563 Bekôé, are now assimilated and are considered a special Pahouin ayôn
565 (see above, p. 54). But the nomadic groups themselves are beginning to give up the obligatory intermediation of the Pahouin in order to sell their game; they are to be seen at markets and even in government offices and in the courts.

F 609 Foreigners, bone bikul (ékul = foreign tribe), had no rights except as guests or hosts, beyeñ (sing. nneñ), which means that they had in fact to buy security. Since European conquest there has been an increase in the betabe (from tabe = to stay, to dwell), privileged strangers admitted to residence by the head of a family or village, often allied by marriage to the clan amid which they have settled. Their children can be absorbed but are not true bo'beti, at least not
F in the first generations.

56 Thus truly Pahouin society was and remains very much a closed one, since entrance into it is, in practice, only by blood. On the other hand, it is very little stratified internally, outside of age grades; it might even be said to be averse to hierarchies.

F 564 At first one is rather tempted to conclude that there are no castes. This statement is perhaps too sweeping, if we take into consideration the fact that certain endogamous clans like the Ndôñ are perhaps castes or represent former castes. The subject deserves further study. /60/

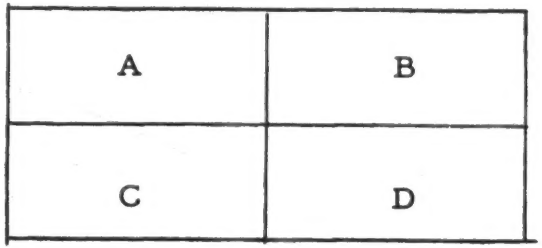
F 556 565 Does Pahouin society admit of social classes based on birth or wealth? In spite of the egalitarian and anarchic temperament of the Pahouin, I think this is so. Terminology proves it by distinguishing the bo' beti not only from the captives but even from the zesé bôt, the humble people: mo'nti is often translated today as "Monsieur." Within the last two generations there has grown up before our eyes a real bourgeoisie of large-scale planters, clerks (bekilak), artisans, and skilled workmen, which is inclined to stand out against a lower class of small peasants, laborers, and even, at the moment, of a "proletariat in sunglasses" — petty tradesmen, etc. —a local equivalent of our white-collar workers. Already in traditional society the minkukum, the rich, were to be distinguished from the common people, the zesé bôt.

556 565 431 437 The rich were looked at askance and were objects of suspicion to the general public, always quick to attribute material success to the possession of an évu (évur, évus), to malevolent sorcery. The

6: Alexandre and Binet
101, 131, 563, 619

Fang FH9

[Chart for sections of end map.]



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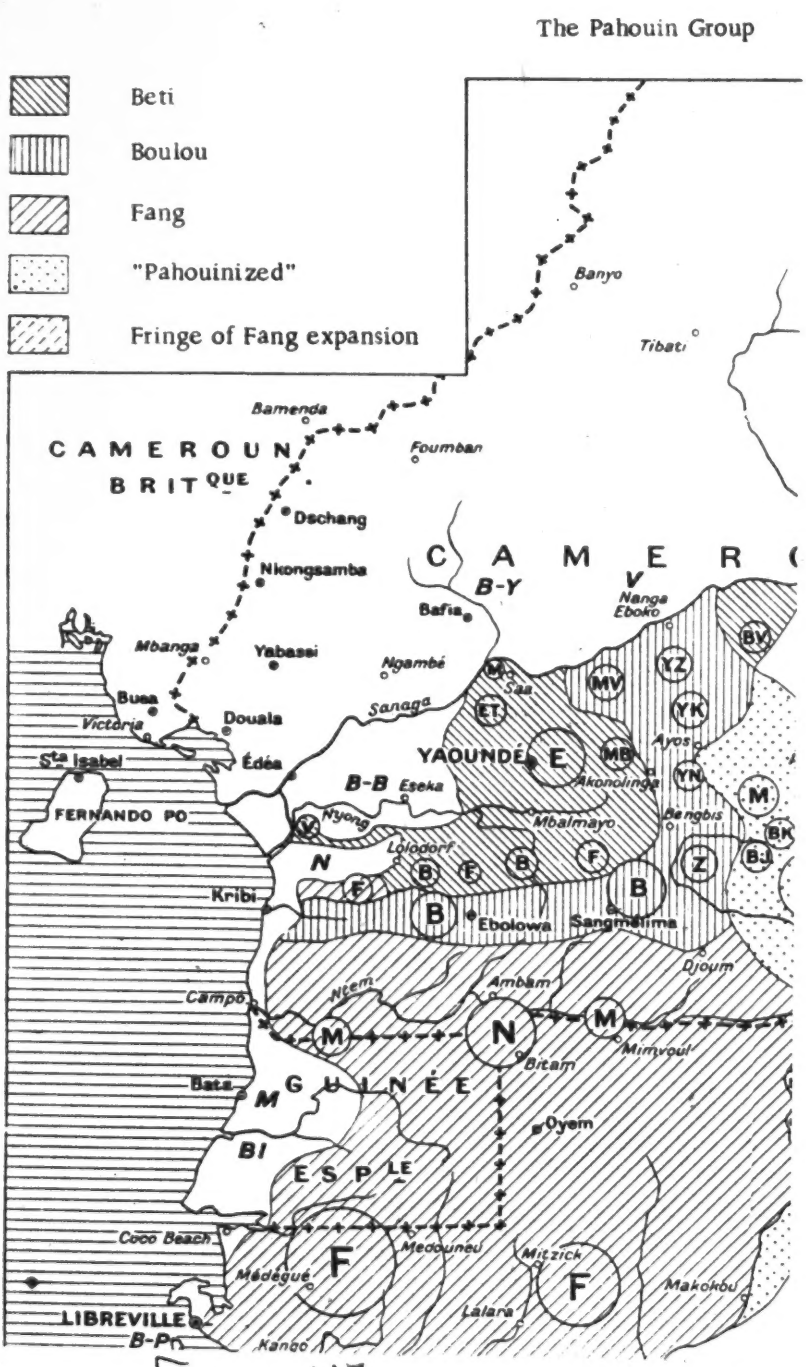

[End Map (A)]

The Pahouin Group

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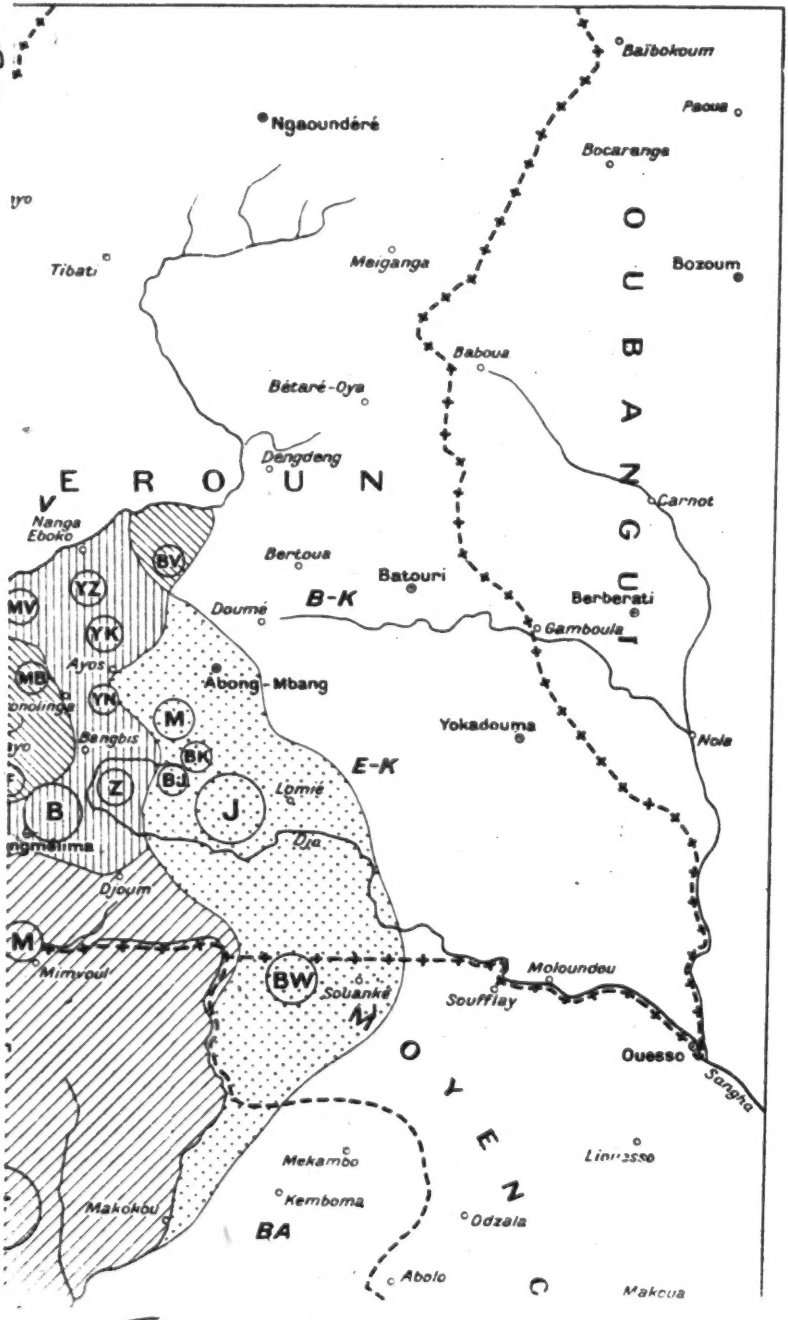

[End Map (B)]

6: Alexandre and Binet--184 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

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● 563
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M MANGISA
E EWONDO
F FONG
V EVUZOK
ET ETON
MB MBIDA-MBANE
MV MVELE
YZ YEZOUM
YN YENGONO
F FANG
M MVAE
N NTOUMOU

Neighboring Peoples

B-B : Bassa-Bakoko , **B-Y** : Bafia-Yambasa , **V** : Babouté (Vutéré) , **B-K**
M-O : Mitshogo-Okandé ; **BU** : Bapounou , **NK** : Nkomi , **B-P** : Benga-Pongwé

[End Map (C)]

6: Alexandre and Binet--185 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

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● 563
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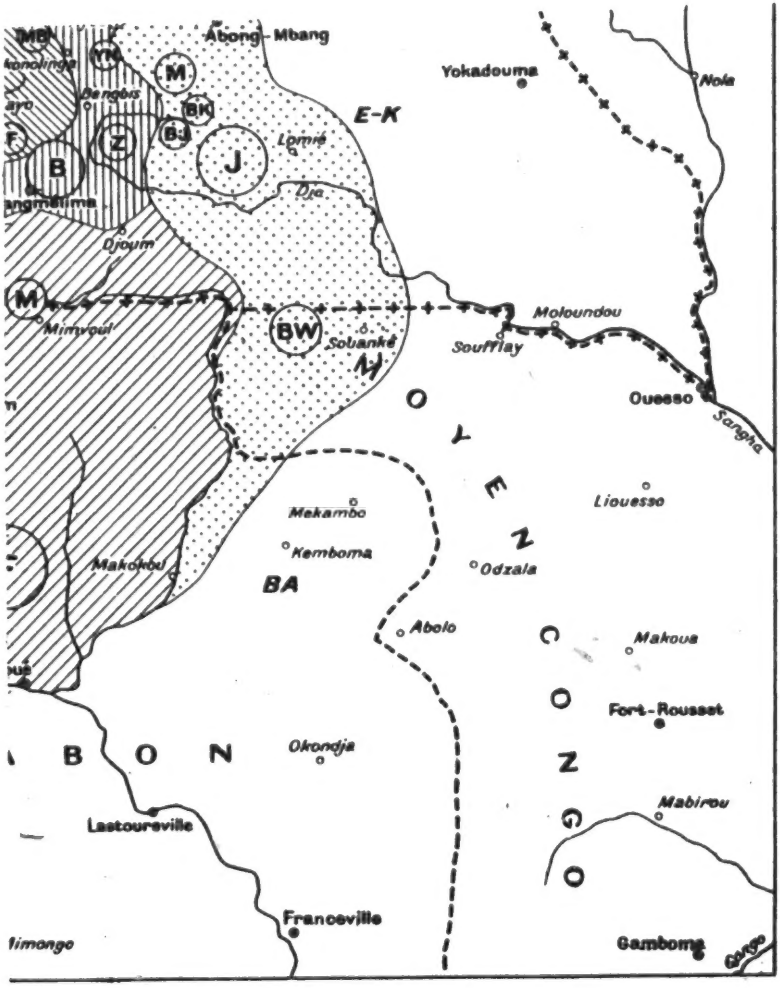

MB MBIDA-MBANE
B BANE
BV BAMVELE
B BOULOU
Z ZAMAN
YK YEBEKOLO
N NTOUMOU
M MEKAE
BJ BADJOUE
BW BAKWELE
BK BIKELE
J DZIMOU-JEM

...outé (Vutéré), **B-K** : Baya-Kaka, **E-K** : Essel-Konabembé, **BA** : Bakota
B-P : Benga-Pongwé, **Bl** : Balengi ; **M** : Mabéa ; **BT** : Batenga ; **N** : Ngoumba

[End Map (D)]

597 sacking of a village. For, although in such cases all the men
727 and able-bodied youths are ruthlessly killed and eaten, this does not apply to women and children, even to male children, who henceforth belong to the new tribe and will later be looked upon as warriors. There is no ceremony for women or female
[562] children, since, as we have seen, the totem ignores them, and they have only one duty toward it, to hide in their huts as quickly as possible whenever there is talk of the totem, and never to mention it. Should this nevertheless happen, it would be an offense requiring expiation.

597 Male children are adopted by the various heads of a family. Tribal or village chiefs have first choice, the rest of the warriors come after. The one or more children chosen by a chief, however, may never succeed him.

597 Adoption ceremonies are like those at birth. The adopted
304 child loses all his old totems in order to acquire those of the tribe he joins. There is just one additional ceremony, blood-letting. So as to prove his definitive entry into the tribe, he undergoes the following operation when led before the totem. With the mfor knife, a small steel blade kept for this purpose, the adoptive father makes a few slight scarifications on the child's left arm, collects the blood that flows, and throws it on the ancestral skulls, then on the akaméyón. He then takes a fragment of skull and some totemic sacrificial ashes and rubs these vigorously on the child's arm. This is the true sign of adoption, by which the boy definitively enters his new family and is recognized as belonging to it entirely. Later on he may even be allowed to take a wife from his former tribe, in spite of the strict law of exogamy, because adoption is so authentic.

[848 Often the same bloodletting and blood alliance occur
● 563] with illegitimate children or with mulattoes, but the object is then different. Adoption never takes place at birth but much later, so as to ensure for the child the ancestors' protection.

The same act often occurs when a child is ill. [573]

8: Bennett ' D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

114 and like a resistless army they are steadily approaching the coast, building towns
167 and displacing weaker tribes. That fine race of people, the Mpôngwes, often spoken of as the "aristocratic tribe," and ranking first in the scale of civilisation above all other tribes in the French Congo, is rapidly dying out, and they are already being supplanted even at Gaboon by the migratory Fang.

The Bulu people inhabiting a portion of the German sphere of influence in
114 West Africa are without doubt very closely related to, if not a direct offshoot from,
197 the Fang; their customs are identical and their language so markedly similar that a person who is able to speak Bulu is readily understood by the Fang. The first
173 day of my arrival among the Fang, after residing in Bululand, I was able to make known the reason for my coming and to ask and answer ordinary questions. While visiting on a small island called Nenge-nenge in the Nkomo River, a very old Fang man told me as follows: When a lad his grandfather had told him that, a long time ago, many of his tribe "changed their towns." These people first travelled far in canoes, and then after journeying for very many days through the forest, they "stopped walking and made new towns," and they did not return. My informant's father had told him later more about these people; they had been heard from, and their long absence from the original tribe had so changed them that "they spoke new words" (a new language).

Examples could be given almost without limit of the great similarity in the
197 language as spoken by the Bulu and Fang. A few will suffice; and I will select
539 from the proverbs of the people which are also identical. Tell a Bulu man to hurry with his work, he will often reply, "*Alu da dayi bol' nzok?*" (Will one day rot an elephant?). The Fang speak the same proverb thus: "*Alu avoti bol' nzok?*" Again, the Bulu use the words *Melu myus* (the days that are past), *Melu osu* (the days that are to come), *Melu mesese* (all the days). These sayings and numerous similar ones are in daily use among the Fang, the words used and the idiom being almost identically the same as in Bulu. I have wondered if the account given me by the old Fang man at Nenge-nenge about the people who years ago "changed their towns," might not be of more than passing interest as touching the genesis of the Bulu.

The Fang people are spread over an immense area of country, and when
101 questioned regarding their numbers they usually reply, "There are Fang and Fang; if you walk and sleep in towns and towns for many *moons* (months) you will find Fang." In the future it will be found that in the ethnography of equatorial Africa the Fang will hold a very important place. As before stated they are unquestionably closely related to the Bulu, and Compiègne recognised a marked similarity between them and the Osyeba, Monbutta and Nyamnyam people. There are
563 several scattered tribes of dwarfs among the Fang. Five of these pigmies live within two miles of my station, and they tell me that more of their people will soon "move their towns" and come to live on the banks of the Nkomo river. The Fang people look on the pigmies as a very clever and superior people, and not without good reason. An old headman told me that the *mon ngui* (dwarfs) first

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

563 discovered how to work *eki* (iron) and then taught others. They are also skilful hunters, and frequently succeed in killing game when others fail. In trade, it is almost impossible to cheat a dwarf, hence the Fang saying, "*Mon mci meduk mebe, mon nqui aduk aroti.*" (You can cheat a Fang twice, a dwarf once.) In this proverb the word "*mci*" equals Fang (see photographs and measurements of Fang dwarfs). The Fang are cannibals and only fear of the authorities keeps them in check. In the autumn of 1898 a man was killed and eaten within ten miles of our mission station on the Nkomo river. I heard of the affair two days after the man had been killed, and taking a boat hurried down to the place accompanied by one of the sons of King "Kelun" from Nenge-nenge, as guide. In the palaver house of the town was a captive boy in chains. The people of this town would not admit having eaten a man, yet did not deny it; they said that the human bones in a hole behind the palaver house were those of a man who had "died two days before." I afterward learnt that the captive boy had been killed and eaten a few days after my visit. Several Fang have admitted to me that "some Fang eat man meat," and they have been told that it is far more enjoyable to eat than goat. My informants always added that they would not do such a thing—"only bad Fang did so." What I have learned from others and my own observations lead me to believe that an immense tract of country in West Africa from a trifle north of the equatorial line extending even as far northward as to include a portion of the German sphere of influence in the Cameroons, is occupied by numerous anthropophagous tribes all more or less closely related.

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II.—*Physical and Moral Characteristics.*

142 Physically the Fang are a fine people. They may be classed as of medium size. Some of the males are exceptionally large and well built. At Foulabifong, the Fang village on the Nkomo river, where I reside, there is a man belonging to the Esinis tribe who is the largest and finest specimen of humanity I have ever seen in Africa (photo shown on screen).

The skin colour of the Fang is sooty-black or dark reddish-brown, chocolate: (numbers 2 and 3 Topinard's scale); coal-black skins (number 1, Topinard's scale), are in the minority. The skin is smooth and when well cared for, as it very often is, it feels soft and velvety. In the adult the skin is lighter in the axilla; the palm of the hand and sole of foot are permanently yellow. The average Fang eye has a dark iris (class 1, Topinard's scale), and the eye-balls are placed with their long axes nearly in one horizontal plane. I have occasionally noticed a compression of the outer angle of the opening, mostly in females, strongly suggestive of the "almond eye." The hair may be classed as black and woolly. It is uniformly scattered over the hairy scalp; the hairs are coarse in texture. The males seem to have an aversion to hair on the face and frequently pluck if out; only a small percentage grow beards.

[302]

In adult males hair is often quite abundant on the chest and forearms.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

now responsible and liable to two parties; if he is reasonable they all meet and talk the palaver. If the palaver is serious, each party appoints his *ntol* (ambassador). The palaver is usually talked in the main street of the town, before all the representatives of the interested clans, and before all strangers in town. The Fang are born orators, and remarkable gestures and orations are made while talking the palaver. The speaker usually walks backwards and forwards grasping and leaning upon a "palaver stick." He commences with: *M'zona* (I say thus); when speaking for another he says *A'zona* (he says thus); when speaking for the people of his town, *Ba zona* (they say thus). Sometimes the *ntôls* (ambassadors) sit in a canoe in the middle of a river or a stream, and talk the palaver, the injured parties being on either side of the stream. The case is talked, the goods demanded in payment stated, and an effort made to *kik nsang* (cut or end the palaver). If they succeed, then the palaver is *cut* (ended), and a dance follows; if no agreement is come to, the meeting breaks up and a tribal war exists between these clans.

628 681 [537]

Salutations.

There are three salutations common to all. Two friends meet, they each grasp the arm of the other, high up on the biceps; a slight pause is made, then the hand is slipped down to clasp the wrist. This is also the customary salutation used by the Bulu.

576

Two friends meeting salute by embracing.

A traveller entering the *abeng* (palaver house) walks over to the headman and sits on his knee a moment, at the same time placing one arm around the headman's neck.

Hospitality demands that all strangers be served food by the town women to strangers in the *abeng*.

[514]

Wives are loaned to guests. [837]

Coarse conversation is indulged in by old and young of both sexes. [521]

Considerable license prevails among the unmarried; less so among the married. [836]

VIII.—*Invention, Natural Forms, Conservatism.*

Invention.—The arts in use are common to all the different clans of the great Fang tribe. Any new discovery as the working of iron is credited to the dwarfs or *nqui*. The natives are always ready to admit that the *nqui* are very clever; they have a saying "no person knows like a *mon nqui* (dwarf) what is inside the forest." When obtainable the natives use an imported saw, or file, and admit its superiority over their own crude tools. A Fang may be impressed at the knowledge and power of the white man, but is not greatly surprised; the reason for this is that many white men are credited with possessing supernatural powers.

176 563 609

Some of the clubs, tools and weapons approximate to the natural forms of the branches or roots of trees. Axe handles and the handle of a certain kind of adze have

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